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ABSTRACT

The objective of this paper is two-fold. First, to address continued criticism of a general lack of attention to diverse aspects of family development due to continued reliance on traditional ways of assessing and conceptualizing family interaction. Second, to address recent recommendations to educate professionals who are capable of promoting understandings of diversity in family process (e.g., parenting styles, communication) in the social institutions in which they work. An illustration of conducting a contrastive analysis of the meanings of interaction reported in family research and clinical practice journals is presented to address the overall objective. The illustration of a blueprint for examining the meaning of interaction in different family life situations builds on calls for new ways to consider how empirical and evaluation research can make a unique contribution to future discussions and papers on socialization and learning. In addition, the paper includes two tables: Table one presents "Purposes of Family Interaction Research Across Society for Research in Child Development (SRCD) Psychiatry and Clinical Psychology Primary Sources" and includes citations, topics addressed, and purpose of the article; Table two is a "Compilation of Interpretative Review Components," and summarizes citations, observed behaviors, observation time, tasks performed, and age group and sample sizes of pertinent studies. Contains 120 references. (Author/SD)

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COVER PAGE

Title: The call to pay attention to family diversity: Constructing a response

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THE CALL TO PAY ATTENTION TO FAMILY DIVERSITY: CONSTRUCTING A RESPONSE

ABSTRACT:

The objective of this chapter is two fold. First, to address continued criticism of a general lack of attention to diverse aspects of development due to continued reliance on traditional ways of assessing and conceptualizing family interaction. Second, to address recent recommendations to educate professionals who are capable of promoting understandings of diversity in family processes (e.g., parenting styles, communication) in the social institutions in which they work. An illustration of conducting a contrastive analysis of the meanings of interaction reported in family research and clinical practice journals is presented to address the overall objective. The illustration of a blueprint for examining the meaning of interaction in different family life situations builds on calls for new ways to consider how empirical and evaluation research can make a unique contribution to future discussions and papers on socialization and learning.

THE CALL TO PAY ATTENTION TO FAMILY DIVERSITY: CONSTRUCTING A RESPONSE

For the past five decades, child development researchers and practitioners have been optimistic about designing and delivering activities to support parents in their childrearing roles. (E.g., Brim, 1957; O'Keefe, 1979; Wallat, 1991a). Hope was high that family research would enter discussions of the emerging concept of diversity and take advantage of conceptualizations of the social: to develop accounts of the nature and substance of family interaction as SITUATION. Such accounts would explicate interpersonal dynamics in terms of variability in the architecture of contexts in which individuals learn and change. As such, these accounts would provide insights to build upon psychology models which conceive of learning "as changes in the architecture of individual minds, ... even if the 'individual' is made up of a two - person dyadic exchange and learning is within individually sensitive instruction and assessment" (Cook - Gumperz, 1995, p. 169).

Emergent methods and concepts to study the organization of face-to-face interactional behavior held out the promise of creating knowledge of sociocultural similarities and differences by helping others see interactional behavior as situated, not only in physical space but in social space.

We could see the SITUATION as a system of variable rules

> for interaction that mediates between the person and the sociocultural system - a context for interaction to which persons adapt themselves, within which persons reshape sociocultural rules in adaptive ways, and in spite of which persons transcend the societal and the situational and the situational rules, redefining the situation itself in the process of performing it. (Erickson, 1975, p. 484)

Indicators of judgments of the promise of advancing knowledge of families were also expressed by editors of a special Child Development issue of The Society for Research in Child Development (SRCD). In this issues devoted to the topic of family development, the editors predicted that by the 1990's early childhood journals would no longer have to undertake the "difficult, time-consuming, and labor-intensive" work of addressing the limitations of available literature on family interaction (Kaye, 1985, p. 280). "In another decade a separate issue on the family will be unnecessary and redundant" (Furstenberg, 1985, p. 287). The fact that early childhood scholars, clinicians and family members had brought together different worlds would "be of no particular notice" (Furstenberg, 1985, p. 287).

The optimism of the 1970's and 1980's did not bear fruit. The recent publication of a second special issue of Child Development on child care and family contexts is noteworthy (Huston, McLoyd, & Coll, 1994). Summary evaluation statements direct explicit attention to the consequences of lack of

empirical and clinical knowledge on diversity in family processes (e.g., parenting styles, communication styles). Social institutions experience difficulties in improving understandings of adult - child interaction structures, including teaching nascent professionals concepts of diversity as analytical tools for considering variation across a core of universal socialization functions accomplished in upbringing.

> When primary sources fail to address contextual variations, ... secondary sources [such as textbooks] will not do justice to the subtleties and richness of human development. ... Students in the behavioral sciences could reasonably infer that multiculturalism is not valued as a topic of inquiry or pedagogy. (MacPhee, Kreutzer, & Fritz, 1994, p. 700)

The following sections of this Review are organized to provide a blueprint for constructing a response to such criticisms.

A FRAMEWORK FOR CONSIDERING CRITICISM

Our use of the term "blueprint" indicates our interest in finding ways to develop strategies for combining knowledge from empirical observation studies of families, theoretical discussions of past and future directions, and practice insights by clinicians who work with families. The strategies presented in the sections that follow represent the authors' analysis of the concept of "interaction" from two points of professional interest: (1) breaking down boundaries between empirical and clinical practices and (2) dealing with criticisms of child and

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family interaction research.

The first strategy involves locating and sorting through perspectives and assessment data on family functioning. The second strategy is to use interpretations of this selection of primary sources to construct opinions regarding a prevailing paradigm. The opinions can be sent to other early childhood researchers, clinicians, and practitioners for their reactions, or sent directly to associations which sponsor publications in order to advocate changes in what is reported in professional literature. Besides affecting the content of what is reported, these interpretations can be used to influence the conduct of research. Here the interpretations of attention to diversity --- or lack of attention to diversity --- can be used to create specific objectives for future research by providing a focus for addressing calls for redefining the nature of programs; rethinking who early childhood professionals are; and, "helping us see common goals" (Graue, 1993, p. 73).

SCOPE OF THE REVIEW

This section should give the reader some sense of the scope as well as limitations of the strategies we refer to with the term blueprint. One article cannot do justice to the rich array of disciplines and fields of inquiry contributing to advances in the study of family interaction. However, blueprint strategies can be proposed as illustrations for combining: (a) reports on family interaction variables that have been identified, (b) reports that delve into the implications of family relations for practitioners, and (c) reports that suggest orientations and

methodologies for exploring which relevant family interaction variables have yet to be fully explicated.

Our approach to responding to criticism (such as lack of attention to diversity) is to point to examples of convergence in points of interest across publications available to researchers and clinicians. Building on guidelines for designing and conducting a contrastive review (Cooper, 1982; Jackson, 1980), we conducted a search of three primary data sources to locate all family interaction references published in the five year period preceding the publication of the criticism presented in the introduction. The data sources of interest were empirical observation studies, conceptualizations of the social which serve to link social and psychology issues of family interaction by calling attention to context, and reports of attempts to orient clinical work towards the nature and substance of diversity in the set of functional demands organizing the way family members interact. The three levels of our search were reading the 1989 - 1993 (SRCD) "psychiatry, clinical psychology" and "theory, methodology" Abstracts, and the table of contents of all volumes of Family Relations for the same time period.

SRCD Abstracts and Bibliography is published three times a year. The editors regularly search over 250 journals related to growth and development and then organize abstracts from these journals into six major categories : Biology, Health, Medicine; Cognition, Learning, Perception; Social Psychological, Cultural, and Personality Studies; Educational Processes; Psychiatry, Clinical Psychology; Theory and Methodology. The topics serve as

organizing tools while simultaneously providing information about what primary source content is considered of value (Stevenson & Siegel, 1984).

Given the fact that the term "interaction" was only included in one subject index of the 15 Abstracts and Bibliography issues published in the five year period we used to develop this paper, we read all 1203 abstracts presented in the "psychiatry, clinical psychology" category and all 347 abstracts presented in the "theory, methodology" category to begin to provide readers with information they could consider as one level of indicators of the significance, or sustained level of interest in family interaction research and theory. The total citations were 36 "psychiatry, clinical psychology" adult - child interaction observation studies, and 31 "theory, methodology" citations which included referential statements regarding authors' intentions to elaborate or improve theoretical ideas and explanations of adult - child interaction published across 25 SRCD journals. We judged this as indication of sustained interest in investigating family communication as a means to consider the criticality of parents to the child's learning and development. Turning to the National Council on Family Relations (NCFR) journal of applied family and child studies, we located 22 articles on the topic of family interaction for the same time period, 1989 - 1993. This number of articles set against the total of 256 articles published in Family Relations during the five year review period can be represented by the ratio of 1 : 8. We judged this ratio sign as indicating a significant and sustained interest in the family processes of parenting styles and communication among clinicians.

The second level of our search was determining the children and youth population sampled in family studies. Locating and reading the full version of the 89 citations provided the opportunity to delimit the total number of primary sources based upon our professional interest in early childhood years 0 - 8. We omitted 10 "psychiatry, clinical psychology" research reports which were based upon a sample of adolescents. The final total review data base for the "psychiatry, clinical psychology" studies was parent - child interaction studies published in the following 18 journals: Abnormal Child Psychology, Adolescence, American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, American Journal of Mental Retardation, Autism and Developmental Disorders, Child Abuse and Neglect, Child: Care, Health and Development, Child Care Quarterly, Child and Family Behavior Therapy, Child Psychology and Psychiatry, Counseling and Clinical Psychology, Infant Behavior and Development, Infant Mental Health Journal, Mental Deficiency Research, Orthopsychiatry, Perceptual and Motor Skills, Psychiatry, and Psychological Bulletin.

After reading the full version of the sources presented in the SRCD "theory, methodology" category we omitted 3 adolescent studies. We did leave in one study that involved adolescent ages because the methodology can be used with parents of young children (i.e., Tappan, 1989). The final total review data base for "theory, methodology" publications was 27 primary sources. In contrast to the SRCD "psychiatry, clinical psychology" primary sources on family interaction, the SRCD "theory and methodology"

publications on family interaction appeared in the following 7 journals : Child Development; Developmental Review; Human Development; Merrill Palmer Quarterly; Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry; Child and Family Behavior Therapy and Topics in Early Childhood Special Education.

Continuing the first blueprint strategy to locate and sort through perspectives and assessment data on family functioning, we read the Family Relations sources identified through reading the tables of contents in volumes 38 through 42 (i.e., the volumes published 1987 through 1993), and selected 13 to include in this review. The articles omitted from the original 22 possibilities included 8 articles that addressed adolescent years and 1 communication article that proposed message scripts for adults to learn in order to include more "we" rather than "I" messages day - to - day talk.

INITIAL POINTS OF COMPARISON

The most salient comparison feature in the format and purpose of the SRCD and the NCFR data sources is that potential contributors of SRCD articles are told that research reports on family interaction must address "research implications" and the Family Relations editorial board requires that all articles must provide implications for clinical practice and interventions with family members. The latter purpose is quickly apparent in reading through the titles and first few sentences of articles. The Family Relations articles incorporate communication as a central factor in family members ways of being in relationship to others. The recognition of family as a major situation for development

was addressed across the Family Relations data source in terms of the following topics and purposes: parenting behavior repertoire and relationship style, variable family organizational patterns and ways parenting functions are executed, multiple functions of parenting, parent roles, parent appraisal of their child's development, family skills, shared development knowledge with parents, sources of parent stress, variable parenting programs including preferences for home based intervention and center based programs for different groups defined as African American, Mexican, Mexican American, or as low income, urban, rural and so forth, father's involvement tied to their characterization and expectations of children's demandness, and parenting and employment.

In order to determine the overall purposes of the SRCD "theory, methodology" publications we organized our analysis of the content of the 27 reports on family interaction in the early childhood years based upon a first reading. The three themes of author's purpose identified were: measurement trends, conceptual frameworks (such as life - span, multidimensional, context embeddedness, convergence of interest in family interaction across multiple disciples), and study design interests for conducting empirical studies of diversity in family processes (i.e., variations in parenting styles, variations in family communicative functions and phenomena).

As discussed in later sections, the SRCD "theory, methodology" articles do not negate the purposes of the "psychiatry, clinical psychology" work. Rather authors of work which is abstracted in the SRCD "theory, methodology" category

attempt to persuade readers to address new questions which stem from research reports on the regulatory function of communication. Examples of the "theory, methodology" questions are: Why does the emphasis on verbal language focus mainly on children's commitment to cooperation? What will the early childhood function of cooperation change to with age? What may happen if children do not have opportunities to use the repertoire of human language functions?

Such questions are now being asked in the first studies to examine how parent - child interaction styles influence social adjustment during the transition to school. These first attempts suggest that children who frequently experience a controlling structure are likely to gain positive judgments by teachers, but have to deal with peer group consequences. The authors are not saying that these children have limited language functions in their repertoire. Rather they build upon early work in considering the architecture of contexts in which young children learn and change (e.g., Halliday, 1973; Cook - Gumperz, 1973; Corsaro, 1985)), and argue for consideration of opportunities to practice initiating and organizing interaction in preschool years. These functions of language are identified in several SRCD "theory, methodology" sources as components of useful social skills for coping with the new social contexts.

As we will discuss further in later sections, work within these these SRCD "theory, methodology" directions work converge with socialization studies illustrating the SITUATION concept of participant structures. Such structures are the focus of SRCD

"theory, methodology" contributors who discuss peer groups constituted between formal lessons or on playgrounds (McCall, 1990; Barth & Parke, 1993).

"Theory, methodology" authors also present data and information from anthropology, social psychology, sociolinguistic, and sociology frameworks to consider SITUATION and language function as a problem of interpretation for both researchers and participants. One argument in such work is that consideration of the variation of human interpretation processes as problmatic before, during, and after a research project, is an untapped resource for incorporating diversity as a frame of reference for all studies. A range of new images of diversity as individual and social differences across all adult - child interaction are suggested in concepts that attempt to focus attention on variable participant structure, variable interpretation or frames, variable context, and in descriptions of methods being tried to expand and complement the knowledge base on how adults can initiate and control an interaction structure. The possibility suggested in these concept and method directions is for a broader investigation of the mixes of communicative features and functions children and adults use to deal with their day to day ambiguous situation.[1] Finally, the question of why new concepts and methods are of interest to those studying family interaction is the purpose of the remaining articles that we will review in a later section of this review called, "Strategy 2: Constructing Opinions Regarding a Dominant Paradigm."

As demonstrated in Table 1, the dominant purpose identified

in the SRCD "psychiatry, clinical psychology" observational studies is cast in terms of how each study builds on, or replicates, or extends past work on the interaction function represented as verbal communicative control of social behavior and language development. Table 1 includes all of the family interaction observational studies included in the more detailed compilation of the content of these studies in the next section. The original estimate of 26 parent - early childhood observation studies had to be reduced to the 24 sources identified in Table 1. We were unable to locate one citation that appeared in the five year set of issues of SRCD Abstracts and Bibliography (i.e., Hecht, Levine & Mastergeorge, 1993). Then, after reading reports copied from the journal issues cited in the bibliography, and beginning to work on the Table 2 compilation of observed behaviors and tasks performed across the primary sources, we did not include a 1992 study because it did not include the same types of information on the categories we were able beginning to distinguish as we read the full text of other articles (i.e., Meharg & Lipsker, 1992).

[Insert Table 1 about here]

It is not possible to develop a systematic response to calls for redefining and rethinking family interaction functioning variables from one set of 24 primary sources. However, many tools are available to consider this set of sources: guidelines regarding time lines for an adequate selection of sources; abstracting services and computer searches; suggestions for

categorizing explanations of communication activities or phenomena such as interpersonal relations including parent - child (cf. Cooper, 1982; Jackson, 1980; Lindlof, 1995; Eisenberg, 1995).

For example, in Cooper's (1982) conceptualization of the review as a research process, he advises researchers to specify data sources that are easily obtainable, since journal articles rarely include complete descriptions of data collection measures. We therefore added a computer search to check the availability of references and reviews of family assessment so that readers could locate alternatives to the choices we made in constructing the illustrations of blueprint specifications summaries, charts and tables on work published between 1987 - 1993. The computer search for reviews of family observation measures and descriptions of the clinical and research utility of interaction coding schemes, rating scales, and whole family functioning questionnaires (for the five year time span 1987 - 1993) was quite successful: numerous sources were found. (E.g., Berger & Chaffee, 1987; Duck, 1988; Grovetant & Carlson, 1989; Sussman & Steinmetz, 1987; Lindholm & Touliatos, 1993). The availability of such sources means that readers of our Review have the means to follow up on the primary sources we used to illustrate our contrastive analysis using a composite approach.

As part of what we call "Strategy 1: Locating primary sources and perspectives, we also developed an historical sketch of the foundations of work in the 1987 - 1993 time frame to further illustrate what we mean by developing a blueprint for responding to criticism.[2] The historical sketch also served as a

means to conceptualize the contrastive analysis of the final total of 66 SRCD and NCFR primary sources by adopting an "exploration and discovery framework" that has been used by family interaction researchers. The "exploration and discovery framework" of family interaction seeks to move beyond the prototypical research task which expects explicit instruction from adults. Instead, the central purpose of adult - child interaction observation is to examine everyday activities and to understand variation in cultural communities' goals for development.

> A major cultural difference may lie in the extent to which caregivers adjust their activities to children as opposed to the extent to which children are responsible for adjusting to and making sense of the adult world. (Rogoff, Mistry, Goncu & Mosier, 19993, p. 9)

Strategy 2: Constructing Opinions Regarding a Dominant Paradigm

In the composite of observational studies in this section, we outline major design components that were used across all the family interaction studies referenced under "psychiatry, clinical psychology." One purpose of presenting a compilation of the variables used to identify and explicate "interaction," and the tasks accomplishable during this interaction, is to illustrate an observation paradigm which emerged for the study of family interaction. As mentioned earlier, the SRCD "psychiatry, clinical

psychology" set of primary sources were located in 18 early childhood journals. This set of sources provides documentation of our claim that the criticism of a lack of attention to diversity is warranted; there is an extensive number of publications limited to an analysis of family interaction as a set of control and direct teaching strategies.

Additional check points on the validity of this claim will be presented in latter sections which include elaborations upon the 1987 - 1993 family interaction sources included in the "theory and methodology" section of SRCD Abstracts and Bibliography, and NCFR Family Relations. The contributors of articles from these data sources provide examples of expanded analysis of the variable nature of interaction participation structures within and across families and powerful arguments for moving beyond the focus on parents' work within a standard control structure. As such, they provide readers with specific sources which reinforce the value of challenging a dominant paradigm in family interaction work, as well as sources that may be considered as an untapped resource for early childhood professionals who are interested in triangulating researchers', clinicians', and family members' knowledge on interaction.

[Insert Table 2 about here]

Table 2 illustrates indicators of the limited question and unit of analysis of one set of child and development sources across a five year time. The total sample of parents in 24 studies recorded in the "psychiatry, clinical psychology"

category for the five year period 1987 - 1993 ranged from 1 to over 200. The age of the children ranged from two months to eight years with a total sample of 120 early childhood children 2 months to 2 years old; 108 children 2 to 3 years old; 410 children 3 to 4 years old, 211 children 5 to 6 years old, and 72 children 7 to 8 years old. Two studies reported participation by mothers and fathers while the remainder addressed mothers' interaction with their children.

The observed behavior(s) included in Table 2 were based upon observation periods that ranged from 5 minutes to a 3 hour home observation. Although age and task differences are apparent in the column labeled "observing parent / child interaction," the majority of these studies defined "interaction" as parent control. The parents were rated on use of verbal praise, use of commands or directives, and use of contingent responses or nonpunitive control. In other words, of the multiple functions of interaction researchers have identified as universal human resources (cf., Wallat, 1984), and the multiple family functions identified in Family Relations studies of structural variations (e.g., Johnston, 1990; Nath, Borkowski, Schellenbach & Whitman, 1991; Small & Eastman, 1991), the 18 SRCD journals which report parent - child interaction studies are devoting significant space to research on one format of family interaction.

The reasons for continuing to design interaction studies based upon a very limited number of variables are invisible across the SRCD "psychiatry, clinical psychology" research set. No mention is ever made of a participatory process model used to

bring together researchers, potential subjects and practitioners to consider why attention is focused on parents use of 3 verbal actions. As discussed in other sections of this Review, the notion of participatory process models has been exemplified in the design and conduct of studies to identify multiple discipline perspectives on questions to ask and units of analysis about a variety of segments of talk. Such models are capable of incorporating the perspectives and interpretations of the talk by the individuals' who had been recorded on the video or audio records used by the researchers as principal data to recreate aspects of social structure (e.g., Cicourel, 1994; Green & Harker, 1988; Gumperz, 1982a, 1982b; Tannen & Wallat, 1993).

We suggest that the frame of reference of contributors included by SRCD editors in the "psychiatry, clinical psychology" category is quite narrow. Our review of the five year set of adult - child interaction studies pointed out that the frame of reference on family communication repeated throughout the journals identified above is that parenting should look like the asymmetrical social interaction structure of school teaching (i.e., adult initiates, child responds, adult praises/evaluates). This sequence of one adult controlling the topics initiated as well as the interpretation and valuing of the childrens' forthcoming response has been consistently identified in studies of classroom interaction. Reviewers of classroom interaction studies describe this organization of interaction as taking up 75 percent of the school day (Edwards & Westgate, 1994).

SRCD "theory, methodology" contributors arguing for expansions on current frames of reference on families as

educators point out that decades of programmatic research on problematic family interaction (e.g., Patterson and his colleagues) has demonstrated that the value of analysis of microsocial processes --- a term used to denote close face - to - face interaction --- is that it is reasonable to expect that there are many different mechanisms through which control or conflict may function. Areas of inquiry that been neglected in family study is differentiated descriptions of the breath and complexity of family interaction, and constrastive analysis of differential clinical interventions. For example, one point made in a 1988 review of parent - child interaction therapy was the lack of basic descriptions of the way families of conduct - problem children spend their time. In this review Eyberg (1988) analyzed reports from attempts to incorporate tenets of child development theories into clinical practice. She concluded that the sorts of interaction represented as parent initiates or directs, child responds, parent provides feedback, evaluates or praises may or may not be effective in the sorts of conflicts periods, or direct teaching periods that take up about 5 percent of time that families including conduct - problem children spend their time. The nature and substance of family interaction during 95 percent of the time is open to question (Eyberg, 1988).

It should be pointed out that our presentation of points of contrast between the set of SRCD "psychiatry, clinical psychology" primary sources, and the SRCD "theoretical and methodological" is not intended to suggest that social science research should pick another topic besides power and control.

Rather the contrastive analysis is intended to provide a glimpse of a range of alternative perspectives for considering organization of social and psychology control. For example, some of the points made in the Baird, McCormick, Carruth & Turner (1992) primary source from SRCD "theory, methodology" are references to how representations of child initiation and parent communicative acts are evolving in family interaction observations. They point out to the possibility of building on past work to consider theories of intentionality which distinguish between prior intentions and intentions and, in turn, lead to classifications of communicative acts, i.e., the acts performed in the making of an utterance (Searle, 1980).

One example of a study which followed the course of advances Baird and his colleagues suggested is possible has been reported in language development literature. In a study of preschool children, researchers' attempts to determine if it was possible to categorize a preschool child's intentions from transcripts of their talk across day care, home, and community settings, yielded a corpus of 6 general categories --- and 32 different types --- of speech acts: (a) requests for information, action, or acknowledgement, (b) direct responses to preceding utterances, (c) descriptions of observable aspects of the context, (d) statements expressing analytical or institutional beliefs, attitudes, reasons, (e) acknowledgements regulating contact and conversation, (f) organizational devices that accomplished an act (Miller, 1977).

While readers will want to check out theoretical and methodological critiques of speech act (e.g., Cicourel, 1980),

the point is that analysis of spoken discourse provides a frame of reference inside which we may characterize insightfully what is being done when something is said by a parent and child, and what diversity or variation has been documented to date.

Concepts such as communicative acts and use of categories such as child initiates, are also considered by NCFR contributors interested in family system conceptions such as negotiation and bidirectional effects in interaction. Demonstrations of the use of concepts such as organizational devices have also been elaborated in sociolinguistic conceptions of the nature of the organization of interaction in terms of variations and multiple functions that can be investigated as participatory processes and communication acts. Succinctly, this work asserts a diversity position and acknowledges "the point that ambiguity is an inherent property of all natural languages" (Levine, 1985, p.20).

Overall, the 24 observation studies outlined in Table 2 continue the tradition of simplifying the complex task of studying "interaction." The researchers identified in Table 2 used an average of five regulatory and controlling subcategories to create a representation of what parents and children were accomplishing together. The list of observed behavior variables presented in Table 2 demonstrates that it is not clear why researchers think these units of analysis correlate with every family's expectations about their own or their child's behavior. Little mention is made of additional functions of language in early childhood, or the variation in meaning that the children and adults who served as subjects would give to the nonverbal and

verbal give to the examples researchers report represent as control, compliance, and so forth (cf. Wallat, 1984; 1991; Wallat & Piazza, 1988).

One clear example of the problematic nature of providing readers with only the researchers' interpretation of talk is from a study of professional - parent - child interactions in a comprehensive medical and social service for families. One of many interaction structures studied within this service was the pediatrician's examination of an 8 year old child in the presence of her mother. Within this physical examination structure the pediatrician talked and amused the child as well as answered the mother's questions. Among the indicators of the multiple functions of language that were apparent in the viewing session were the variable ways that the researchers, the doctor, and the mother, interpreted what served as a request for information, what served as a response for information requested. The mother wanted her comments about her child's delivery of a verbal responses with a distinct raspy tone and her nonverbal attempts to exhale with a distinct signs of wheezing or shortness of breath (e.g., "That's what she does all night long.") to function as a specific request for answers about the absence or presence of a lingering virus. The doctor wanted her comments (e.g., "That's normal.") to function as reassurance (e.g., "That is a normal part of a child with cerebral palsy. All of the muscles are weak."). (Tannen & Wallat, 1993).

Looking down the list of interaction variables included in column 2, readers will not find any studies that addressed functions of language in terms of multiple interpretations that

are possible in day - to -day interactions. Readers will however, find two studies that attempted to address functions of interaction beyond control of others. In the first study, Shapiro, Frosch, and Arnold's (1987) interaction categories attempted to move beyond categories of control and address the problem of lack of "measures available to determine progress in interaction and socialization" (p. 485).

The authors refer readers to "good evidence" (p. 485) that dyadic joint attention facilitates language learning, and two decades of work which suggests that verbal interchange skill can be traced back in the unfolding of linguistic performance in parent - child interaction history. These two theoretical statements on the development of family interaction clearly index an interest in investigating the social as content and process (cf. Wallat, 1991a). Recent reviews of the theoretical base and methodology directions of early childhood learning in family and community settings point out what is encompassed in studies which evoke the notion of "social context". Such socialization studies of broad contextual factors point out that conceptualization of the social in order to see SITUATION suggest the feasibility of considering two theoretical problems: What social context has, and What social context does. Consideration of - What social context of families as educators has - is answered in terms of the sense of direction of parent - child relations: relations analyzed in terms of collections of empirical data in specified elements, occurrences, events, factors, conditions, circumstances, and so forth. Consideration of - What social

context of families as educators does - is answered in terms of describing people as participants in complex systems of pragmatic functions, not as isolated senders or receivers of messages (Wallat, 1991b)..

Unfortunately, Shapiro's, Frosch's, and Arnold's attempt to advance understandings of social context of families as educators breaks down in their description of the accomplishment of the task of mother - child dialogue. Their behavior coding categories for representing dialogue include such terms as "enthusiasm." Their selection of this concept remains unexplained. It appears to the reader that, suddenly, the authors' break the analysis of investigating the social as content and process; they do not address why they have shifted to analysis of the architecture of attributes which are in individual's minds. Also, as Cook-Gumperz' (1995) work suggests, the authors conceiving of teaching and learning as an enthusiasm attribute begs the question of how diversity can find expression within such an assessment framework. Sociolinguistic literature demonstrates that there are multiple variations of verbal and nonverbal styles that affect the interpersonal character of the SITUATION we can represent with the term learning. Our reading of the authors' analysis and use of the term enthusiasm brought to mind attention to Cook-Gumperz' and others work on the contributions of adult - child interaction study to new understandings of social context as content and process; critiques of the validity of the implicit assumption that expressions of enthusiasm are universally used and recognized; and, questions about whether parents should be evaluated in their teaching the contents of socialization by the

use of a school research indicator of effectiveness in formatting adult - centered direct instruction. [3]

As Brim (1957) argued in his 70 year history of the early efforts at parent education, researchers may be asking parents to organize an interaction structure which conflicts with the participant role expectations of their cultural communities (cf. Brim, 1957, p. 72).

> The parent - child relation is a social interaction system .... Like all such social systems, it is regulated by normative beliefs or sanctions about how the participants are to behave. (Brim, 1957, p. 80)

Gardner's (1987) study of interaction between 39 mothers and their "conduct problem" children is the only study outlined in Table 2 that is capable of informing those interested in identifying the normative beliefs and sanctions of parents, and building participatory processes to bring together researchers, potential subjects and practitioners in the design of family interaction studies which are sensitive to variation or diversity. One aspect of such a model is exemplified in Gardner's request to mothers who participated in his study "get on with what they were doing." Restrictions such as "don't answer the telephone or turn on the TV" were not placed on participants. While the purpose of Gardner's observation of family processes was to identify activities that had not been studied in order to design new directions, his use of an activity list that had been delimited to 11 types, begs the question of designing new ways for capturing and explicating unexamined aspects of family

interaction.

Table 2 provides further details of professional literature biases and limitations which would benefit from participatory processes models to bring researchers, practitioners and family members together to consider current purposes of family processes research and intervention. The 155 observed behavior categories used in research studies both implicitly and explicitly communicate that what counts in "psychiatry, clinical psychology" research is parents' manifestations of control, and how they manage or deal with lack of compliance. The use of these categories also perpetuates a frame of reference which emphasizes locating behaviors within individuals rather than locating the details of organization of control and compliance in situations (cf. Erickson, 1975; Cook-Gumperz, 1995). While it is true that 10 of the articles referenced in Table 2 included criticisms of behavior categories generally used to observe adult / child interaction, none of the authors discussed the theoretical implication of the order of their own presentation of parent behavior categories. The authors of all 10 articles implicitly acknowledged a professional culture notion of the adult as the originator of dominance and control, despite inclusion of statements such as : (a) conflicts are greatest during task situations rather than free play, and (b) conflict in mother - child interaction may stem from the severity of the child's condition or disorder systems rather than from poor management skills of the mother (cf. Barkley, 1988; Barkley, 1989; Beckwith, 1988; Campbell, Breaux, Ewing, Szumowski & Pierce,

1987; DiLalla & Crittenden, 1990; Drotar, Eckerle, Satola, Pallotta, & Wyatt, 1990; Dumas, Gibson, & Albin, 1989; Dumas & Lechowicz, 1989; Johnston & Pelham, 1990: Karasi, Sigman, Mundy & Yirmiya, 1988).

The authors of 4 of the 24 SRCD "psychiatry, clinical psychology" articles during the five year period under review did mention support of work which explicates the importance of considering SITUATION, in order to begin to design how to address the question of why children do not express deviance in the same manner across all observations. Cambell, Bisaux, Ewing, Szumowski & Pierce (1987) explained their findings of mothers' continued use of negative control "despite improvements in their children's behavior" (p. 438), as underscoring calls to consider parent expectations and situational factors. Dumas, Gibson & Albin (1989a) stated that "when their mothers are distressed, these [33] children are more deviant but they do not exhibit their deviance in the same manner across all social situation" (p.520). Children are selectively maladjusted. "The extent of their deviance depends on the situation in which they are evaluated" (p. 520). Barkley (1989) noted that his work on control did not closely assess the qualitative features of family interaction such as considering what constitutes less direct style. Beckwith (1988) noted that one research implication of the study he reported was to ask: What is about the parent - interventionist interaction that constitutes effectiveness of family life intervention?

Unfortunately, these implication comments and next step discussions, did not discuss how research on broad contextual

factors might provide alternatives to a continued research focus on different questions, units of analysis, and variables to use in considering characteristics of the child and family background. [4] Such directions are possible to identify from efforts that are aimed at creating a research focus on different questions, units of analysis, and variables to explicate the importance of considering SITUATION, and to examine what social context of family interaction has (e.g., the sense of direction of relationships through use of concepts such as, systems of meaning and interpretation, historical influence, culture, social support), and what social context of family interaction does (e.g., uses such as participating in complex systems of behavioral relationships; modes such as accomplishment of tasks, styles, routines) (cf. Wallat, 1991b).

One of the benefits of such efforts at conceptualizing such broad contextual factors to family practitioners is expanding opportunity to move beyond the limited advances research has made in developing new knowledge on diversity. Another benefit of studies which address the nature and substance of what social context has and what social context does is to expand opportunities to building on examples of participatory process models from SRCD cited cross cultural investigators such as Rogoff, Mistry, Goncu & Mosier (1993). Such work can lead to identifying families willing to help the field of family interaction in various ways: (a) to accumulate interpretations of behavioral tasks, (b) to understand the role of speech variation in human society, and (c) to explicate definitions of social

interaction by providing reactions to the nature and substance of elements such as those complied in Table 2 based upon their own experiences and cultural knowledge base (cf. Gumperz, 1992a; 1982b).

MOVING BEYOND CURRENT DEFINITIONS OF INTERACTION

In this section we suggest how it is possible to build on SRCD "psychiatry, clinical psychology" studies in ways that take into account current practice suggestions that have been published in the implications sections in Family Relations issues.

Statements regarding the need to consider multiple interpretations of "quality" parenting have appeared on a regular basis across Family Relations issues published since 1987. Contributors have noted that developing knowledge of what factors need to be taken into account in working with children and adults depends upon collecting information from all caregivers in the family network concerning their perceptions or interpretations of: (a) appropriate behavior (McBride, 1989; 1990), (b) appropriate relationship styles (Ketterlinus, 1991), (c) the expectations members have of one another (Shuster, 1993), (d) how parents appraise child development (Glascoe & MacLean, 1990), (e) family organization and functioning differences (Visher & Visher, 1989), (f) the course of structural variations in family functions (Johnson, 1990), (g) the course of roles, and the course of communication across stages of childrearing (Palsey, Dollahite, & Ihinger-Tallman, 1993).

The calls for combining researcher, clinician, practitioner,

and parent knowledge seem to fall into three categories:
1. Continued advocacy for and demonstration of the value of subjective knowledge (e.g., rather than sole reliance on researchers' normative information (Doescher & Sugawara, 1992)),
2. Continued advocacy for and demonstration of the value of understandings about the resources all individuals have for multiple interaction functions (cf. Clewell, 1989), and
3. Continued advocacy for and demonstration of the value of family functioning intervention designs which incorporate objectives related to variations in cultural preferences (e.g., preferences for interacting in a family group, or interacting in a "support group" designed by family intervention personnel (Powell, Zambrana & Silva - Palacios, 1990)).

The value of subjective knowledge is referred to repeatedly in Family Relations articles. In contrast to the design components reported in the empirical studies identified in Table 2, Family Relations articles include many examples of the usefulness of family members self-reports and family histories (e.g., Johnson, 1990; Nath, Borkowski, Schellenbach, & Whitman, 1991).

Nath et al. (1991) give examples which demonstrate the value of subjective knowledge; for instance, family researchers who agree with the position that subjective knowledge is a valuable form of understanding can demonstrate that it is the individual's appraisal of support rather than a count of the sources of support, the types of support, or the amounts of support which influence mental health outcomes.

The value of new understandings of interaction functions beyond controlling and regulating behaviors has also been articulated by Family Relations contributors'. Glascoe and MacLean (1990) make the case that considering parents' interpretations of family interaction processes will help in the creation of new appraisals of development. As Sistler and Gottfried (1990) advocate; early childhood professionals need to remember that attempts to control the direction of adults' involvement with their children's lives will fail if their models of family functions are in disagreement with parents' cultural and generational development knowledge.

Unfortunately, current parent involvement and participatory research initiatives do not adequately address why using the school-based teaching model with parents is of limited utility when examining the diversity of family dynamics (Wallat, 1991a).

Calls for practitioners' and family members' involvement in identifying questions about educational programs and student achievement have been traced back in educational research sources to the 1950s' (Wallat, Green, Conlin, Harimis, 1981). Procedures for multiple analysis of social interaction by groups of researchers, as well as the subjects themselves, have also been emerging for several decades in the face - to -face interaction literature of disciplines that educational research relies upon to consider the features and substance of adult - child interaction contexts (Wallat, 1991a). The roots of social interaction analysis perspectives, and multiple disciplines' analysis of the same videotape and transcript of ways of allocating involvement in what is called a "participant

structure" (Philips, 1983), can be traced across decades as social scientists and clinicians have focused upon interaction in order to explicate key concepts of anthropology, psychology, social psychology, and sociology: culture, language acquisition, socialization and social structure (Wallat & Piazza, 1988). Such attempts to take into account multiple perspectives and types of inquiry on the architecture of contexts in which people attempt to communicate, can be used by readers as examples of professional societies' and councils' support for building participatory process models of complementary studies of social interaction, and as examples of efforts across disciplines to showcase diversity and variation in adult - child interaction (Wallat, 1984; 1991).

Strategy 3 : Influencing the Conduct of Research

Early childhood researchers interested in expanding upon the examples that have been mentioned of how researchers and clinicians use participatory process models to work collaboratively with families, can consider next steps in terms of a third blueprint strategy to respond to calls to consider diversity. As discussed earlier, this strategy is possible because of the availability of systematically collected data sources on current theoretical arguments, conceptual frameworks, and methodologies (tools and techniques for exploring the phenomena of family interaction).

SRCD Abstracts "theory and methodology" category, led us to 31 publications on family interaction. After initial reading to omit studies that addressed adolescent age samples and identify

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categories of authors' purpose, we searched back issues of journals that were represented in the final total of 27 publications that would serve as primary sources.

Three years before the time span represented in the review, Child Development published a Special Topics Issue on family development. The co - editors (Kaye and Furstenberg, 1985) identified two challenging conceptions of family interaction whose evolution had been recorded in the history of SRCD since the Abstracts began publication in 1933.

> (a) The dichotomy of social and psychological is artificial; family interaction does not involve discrete individuals performing in analytically distinct ways that are separate from social environment (e.g., The nature and substance of concepts such as attachment must not be viewed as an individual trait.).
>
> (b) Representations of development such as continuities and discontinuities can be applied to studies of the family as a social system (e.g., The concept of social system is essentially a representation of interaction; Family members including children help establish and transform the operating rules of their families; Variations in established, revised, reworked, and suspended rules are visible in relational patterns across physical and social space.).

One frame of reference set out in the theoretical and methodological work to be accomplished within emergent conceptions of family interaction is that studying and working with families will always encompass the psychological and social.

As Wertsch and Youniss (1987) assert : researchers and clinicians studying and working with families are examining psychological processes which are carried out in various kinds of social contexts in which subjects and clients function.

> Rather than assuming that one can incorporate contextual factors in an independent, preexisting account of psychology ... it is necessary to invoke the notion of context from the very beginning. This has major consequences for what psychological theory and data can and should ask" (p. 18)

By major consequences Wertsch and Youniss were referring to how development psychology might respond to the emergent conception of family interaction as social and psychological, and as continuities and discontinuities. Would future theory and methodology work: (a) deny that family interaction requires special analysis of contextual effects by continuing the argument that social context can be fended off from psychology phenomena and objectivity assured through proper use of right methods; (b) admit that family interaction should be considered as a continuity and discontinuity SITUATION but that investigators ought to be able to continue to assess family interaction as though continuity or discontinuity was present or absent; (c) locate examples across disciplines that had moved beyond designing studies that represented human behaviors as a dichotomy and instead had acted upon the assumption that variability and diversity were the nature and substance of individual and family styles (i.e., examples of work that illustrate that concepts such

as social and psychological, and continuity and discontinuity, should be represented as end points on a continuum since instances of each are visible in the different tasks that researchers recorded -- or frozen off from the flow of life).

With this background on the 1987 - 1993 "theory and methodology" studies in mind, the examination of primary sources that follows was conducted in terms of the light they could shed on illustrating Kaye and Furstenberg's, and Wertsch and Youniss' identification of new starting points for Child Development and Human Development. The summaries that follow highlight contributions of the SRCD "theory, methodology" primary sources to understanding dichotomies as artificial and misleading, and continuities and discontinuities as natural features of interaction such as the function they perform in proving clues about the beginning and end of a conversation, or lecture, or nonverbal message. As Wertsch and Youniss (1987) contend, family interaction researchers need to begin to see interaction, including verbal and nonverbal functions of language, or talk, as a means by which their own --- and their subjects --- interests and assumptions are brought to light. This is not an incidental key process, but a means for examining and understanding the contexts in which subjects in a study function, and "also the contexts in which the investigator operates" (pp.18-19).

Reading through the SRCD "theory and methodology" references we realized that all of the articles published between 1987 and 1993 provided further examples of the propositions regarding misleading dichotomies such as social - psychological, continuity - discontinuity, and the possibility of being mislead

if a researcher or practitioner assumes that subjects hold the same meaning on the function of verbal and nonverbal behaviors. As Manning (1987) has pointed out, researchers are, after all, concerned with aspects or features of social and psychological performance or competence which they believed would help them render meaning to an interaction event.

Tappan (1989) presents a model for developing representations of subjects' family interactions based upon the meanings they communicate in narrative descriptions of their own development, and then comparing these accounts with researchers' theories of development. Following this method, his comparisons lead to the following judgment: "The correspondence (or lack thereof) between personal narrative accounts of developmental change over time and theoretical narrative accounts of development change over time is significant" (p.310). Whereas some theories of development, such as the development of reasoning, suggest a trajectory through specific stages, Tappan's did not find indications of correspondence to this tenet in his analysis of adolescents' answers to the question, "Do you think you respond differently to uncertaintly or conflict now than earlier? After making an argument for the use of stories subjects tell in answering such a question, Tappen recommends that we consider development as different mixes of the contents of theorists' assertions about the nature and substance of different stages of competence or performance.

Duncan (1992) adds another possibility for correspondence (or lack thereof) between accounts of family interaction.

Building on the work of Parke, Patterson, Minuchin, Vuchinich, and their colleagues, Duncan identifies different perspectives on conflict interaction held by researchers and family members. He suggests the contribution that can be made to researchers' understanding of their own work with families on coercion / control / conflict, as well as understanding of family diversity if attention is given to micro social - psychological processes (i.e., attention to action taken by participants in creating, coordinating, pursuing, negotiating and concluding conflict).

Duncan contends that the results of such attention will provide further knowledge of how the child learns to accomplish behavioral regularity in interaction, as well as how they deal with their meanings on such actions. Considerations of the range of control -- from physical violence to subtle implicit phenomena -- require conceptualizations along multiple continuum including duration and escalation. For example, How do children learn to conduct themselves in control situations, specifically to participate in its dissapation or repair?

Rogoff (1988) elaborates further on the expanding scope of social - psychological interests of some family researchers by describing her "contextual event approach" as a tool for keeping an emphasis on the embeddedness of individual development in the immediate social context and the development of skill in use of cultural conventions for mediating knowledge such as social interaction , or participation knowledge (Rogoff, 1988, pp. 346-347). Such directions in cross cultural psychology research on child and family development are also addressed by Goodnow (1990) and Farver (1992). To avoid pitfalls that may occur by relying on

models of socialization which emphasize only mother-child interaction, or only the researchers frame of reference on direct control, these authors point readers towards family diversity work which has identified a variety of social experiences, and interpretations of such experiences. Farver points to a "common core" of primary family experiences which cross cultural researchers study to identify variations in how these common core tasks and practices are accomplished.

Goodnow and Farver's advice suggests that advances in understanding concepts of variation and diversity require adoption of perspectives such as those of Knight, Tein, Shell, and Roosa (1992) who point out that "if the parenting and interaction measures ... are not assessing the same underlying constructs, ... then our understanding of the role of culture in socialization and the cultural - ethnic difference in parenting and family processes is limited" (p. 1393). More specifically, McCall (1990) argues a need for incorporating concepts such as interaction styles, and thereby further explicate what family researchers, practitioners and family members mean when they mention changes in patterns of attachment, aggression or conflict.

Other family interaction contributors located through the use of SRCD "theory and methodology" citations consider the hows of research work and clinical practice which take on as the main problem how to sustain an emphasis on variability (Lerner and Mulkeen, 1990) and processes as continuous and discontinuous (Birkel, Lerner & Smyer, 1989), and as its main purpose how to

enhance definitional and methodological exploration of the whats of diverse ways in which early childhood intervention, the environment, as well as competence, interrelationship and change are conceptualized (cf., Bidell, 1989; Benasich, 1992; Brandtstader, 1990; Chapman, 1990; Coplin, 1991; Dannefer and Perlmutter, 1990; Doise, 1990; Fetterman & Marks, 1990; Laosa, 1989).

Overall, the contributions to "theory and methodology" summarized above, provide additional support to the importance of considering family interaction as a SITUATION that can be investigated by identifying features of organization and features of family members' interaction across physical space and social space. As the results of work on the features of the organization of control have accumulated, sorting out the variations of findings from studies of mothers' and children --- and, in some cases, fathers' and children -- organization of features in relation to control has led to researchers to question the meaning potential of the variables they use (e.g., do actions researchers labeled deviance, direct control, praise, have the same meaning for all participants in a study or intervention?)

Contributors in the "psychiatry, clinical psychology" review sample who identified problems with such categories as they tried to used them in their study (e.g., Dumas, Gibson & Albin, 1989), are facing the same challenge as identified by Family Relations contributors who noted problems with dealing with empirical findings on problematic interaction. One reason for such problems in bridging between empirical observations and clinical work is because clinicians have demonstrated that it is not the child per

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se which affects overall family functioning. For example, Palsey, Dollahite & Ihinger - Tallman (1993) reviewed case studies in marriage and family journals that report that ambiguity about expectations is a strong predictor of dissatisfaction among family members. "Theory and methodology" contributors offer support for clinical practitioners' attempts to develop a strong foundation for clinical recommendations and point to specific ways for family researchers to consider questions about how representative a particular sample of observed control interaction behavior may be (e.g., Dunn, 1992).

All of these acknowledgements converge in purpose with the long history of interest in children and their development relevant to parent - child interaction (Sigel, 1988). They also converge in interest in what Wertsch and Youniss (1987) discussed as "contextualizing the investigator", that is that researchers, practitioners, subjects, and clients "exist in a specific context that influences what we see as important questions, hypotheses, and forms of data" (p. 30). Discovering and addressing the development uncertainties all of these individuals face before, during, and after a particular research study or intervention will depend very much on Learning How To Ask (Briggs, 1986). "Only by incorporating a self - critical moment into our theories and procedures will we be able to come to grips with this issue in a principled way" (Wertsch & Youniss, 1987, p. 30.)

SUMMARY

Recent essays and reports have emphasized that family

interaction research needs to target the inadequacy of relying upon one model of family interaction functions such as imitation, reinforcement, and punishment, as well at the continued use of limited conceptions of social. As Brown, Martinez, and Radke-Yarrow (1992) point out, awareness of family interaction as diversity cannot develop unless these limitations are addressed. Advancing knowledge of diversity would be a step toward the goal of understanding all aspects of caregiving arrangements, and socialization norms and values. The positive questions are: How can learning about "the expectable experiences, the contexts of living, and the customs and values" of families be incorporated into researchers' and clinicians' training (p. 12)? and, How can the investigator or clinician know that "what is being required in the research runs counter to a custom" of a family (p.12)?

This Review was organized to provide an overview of current family interaction primary sources which demonstrate that combining researcher, clinician, practitioner, and parent knowledge is possible, and to present an illustration of how such effort can be undertaken as well as useful in addressing calls for paying attention to family diversity.

FOOTNOTES

1. This statement indexes work in discourse proceses which suggests that language per se is ambiguous. The term ambiguous is used in the sense of evolving definitions of the meaning of social situations, or participant structures, or enactment of routines. Ambiguity is especially apparent in situations in which rules and expectations are not verbally stated or remain implicit in decision making. Sociolinguistic concepts such as communicative competence illustrate the notion of ambiguity in face -to -face interaction by conceptualizing metacommunication tools individuals implicitly use to remove ambiguity, i.e., How much to say? When to say it? Where and when? (cf. Wallat, 1984).

2. Historically, contributors to family development theory and methodology have given considerable thought to requirements for training practitioners and researchers in thinking about family interaction in new ways. For example, in the decade preceding the review time span presented in this paper, a number of special journal issues as well as books and conference proceedings were devoted to addressing conceptual and methodological issues in family development, family policy, and family therapy (e.g, Lamb, Suomi, & Stephenson, 1979; Stevenson & Siegel, 1984).

In a special issue on family development in 1985, Child Development editors provided an examination of family development paradigms and concepts in family therapy, psychology, sociology, and anthropology. In this issue Minuchin (1985) sought to provoke family therapy researchers towards emphasizing how their

joint participation with parents in interaction can be regarded as resources for studying family interaction. He introduced several clinical practice targets for combining or incorporating family diversity knowledge:

(a) the functions of family members behavior can be traced;

(b) the tracking of functions provide an opportunity for practitioners and family members to examine and clarify implicit rules of interaction in the family, and to examine how the boundaries and rules of interaction may change their characteristics over time, and

(c) the scientific concepts of functions and interaction structure (i.e., participant structure) can be explicated by participants; older children and adults are veterans of multiple important contexts and they carry complex interaction templates and repertoires of interaction which practitioners are able to help them identify.

Examples of participatory process opportunities such as these were extended in other contributions in this same issue in reports addressing "patterns of interaction in family relationships" (Grotevant and Cooper, 1985) and "becoming a family member" (Dunn and Munn, 1985). Understanding of parent - child communication was enriched through discussion of concepts such as negotiation of the meaning of interaction roles, and variation in compliance gaining strategies among siblings. The editors of this special issue predicted that the "time has obviously come" for examining new paradigms and conceptions of parent - child interactions (Kaye, 1985, p.279), and that "the field of child development has an opportunity, if not a mandate,

to .... be as attentive to ... how the children transform social systems such as the family as to how these systems transform children" (Furstenberg, 1985, p. 285).

Other professional groups in addition to SRCD also organized entire issues of their professional journals to assist those interested in family interaction in considering how family researchers and practitioners were trying to deal with three trends: (a) the quantitative increase in the amount of family interaction research, (b) the increasing conceptual sophistication of developmental psychology, (c) the increasing attention to the whats or features of qualitative difference in parent - child interaction (e.g. Rutter, 1986; Schaeffer, 1986). Audiences reached by journals such as the Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, as well as family intervention practitioners who have historically been the target of journals such as the Merrill Palmer Quarterly (Sigel, 1988), received special issues which provided overviews of family based approaches to development and interaction. Because of the challenges of gaining and maintaining practitioners' and family members' participation in a range of interventions, readers were encouraged to help build a solid knowledge base on how relationships function and what family based approaches will work better with different families (e.g., Rutter, 1986; Schaeffer, 1986).

In 1992 the Merrill Palmer Quarterly produced a special issue on family interactive talk. The contributors focused on aspects of socialization including learning to conduct social action by means of arguing, recounting personal experiences,

achieving self - assertion, and parent - child conflict engagement. The position taken in this work is that conflict should not be regarded as an exclusively negative interaction event, but rather as a set of interaction skills that continue to develop over a lifetime.

According to these contributors, there are useful methods available to discern qualitative differences in the capacities nearly all children share. These capacities are displayed in different ways across tasks and settings. For example, an important finding in family talk investigations is that children and youth understand the culturally appropriate use of requests and narratives in different contexts (Garvey, 1992; Dunn, 1992; Vuchinich, Vuchinich, and Coughlin, 1992).

In a still controversial review of research on family interaction published over a decade ago, a study group financially supported by SRCD challenged prevailing views on <u>what</u> social experiences and behaviors of children, adolescents, and adults should be recorded, and <u>how</u> they should be recorded. In his overview of the volume chapters written by study group members, one of the editors concluded that despite record growth in use of video to record family talk in multiple sites beyond the laboratory, social scientists remain "unsophisticated" about family processes and variability across social situations (Lamb, 1979).

Lamb's summary statement of the study group members' critique on interaction research in the late 1970s still stands as a challenge: "Unfortunately, the ascendance to popularity of interactional analysis has produced a spate of publications whose

sole and common finding has been that interaction does indeed take place. This is a wholly unsatisfactory finding, ... because it has never been in dispute" (Lamb, 1979, pp.7 - 8).

3. The use of categories such as "enthusiasm" in studies of contribution of adult - child interaction to literacy development, and the consequences of such practices in social institutions attempting to become sensitive to individual and social differences, has been illustrated with examples from six studies of reading and writing as it occurs in classrooms (Wallat, 1987). Similar biased views of research on families has been illustrated in the use of categories used to measure the home learning environment (Wallat, 1991b).

4. This analysis was suggested by one of the editors of Child Development to strengthen the first drafts of the review. We want to acknowledge this point as well as many other insights and suggestions that were invaluable. Both the substance and the positive style of his review of our efforts supplied the encouragement we needed to continue working on the next round of reviews.

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TABLE 1:
Purposes of Family Interaction Research Across SRCD
"psychiatry, clinical psychology" Primary Sources

Alvey 1990	teach parents teaching interactions	**Purpose:** Implement parent training program to teach mothers to learn a script and use verbal praise reinforces in their interactions with their child.
Barkley 1988	investigate methylphenidate effects by observing mother - preschool child interactions	**Purpose:** Extend previous research by more closely assessing whether mothers will "soften" their management style (i.e., "soften" management style defined as reducing use of directives and commands as child's compliance rate increases when they are on medication).
Barkley 1989	investigate ritalin effects by observing mother - 6 year old child interactions	**Purpose:** Replicate study of "softening" management style with a six year old sample taking ritalin.
Beckwith 1988	preterm infants and mothers' level of responsive interactions	**Purpose:** Develop intervention program to increase the rate of mothers' observation of her infant and her use of contingent responses.
Cambell et al 1987	mother - child conflict interactions during play	**Purpose:** Illustrate quantative and qualitative categories that may be used to help connect observation of discrete control and noncompliance behavior categories with "global qualitative features" of mother - child conflict and cooperation (e.g., "global qualitative feature" defined as use of persuasive affective tone).

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Chatoor 1987	mother - infant feeding and play interactions	**Purpose:** Consider variation in conflict and struggle for control by observing attempts by mothers to deal with infant anorexia nervosa (i.e., conflict and struggle for control defined as child's temperament and mother's inconsistency in forcing or not forcing bottle or food into infants mouth).
Cramer 1988	case study evaluation of changes in mother - infant interaction during "brief" therapy	**Purpose:** Identify how interactional variables (i.e. mother's agressivity, physical closeness, face - to - face orientation toward infant) may be tied, or may correspond, to maternal interpretations of child's behavior.
DiLalla 1990	social interaction among abusing and neglecting parents and their children	**Purpose:** Provide a common language in order to deal with "global organization of behavior" categories from at home observations and deal with the wide array of molecular behavior categories used to date across studies (e.g., "global organization of behavior" categories include the code "child hits mother" as HIT, and "mother hits child" as RECEIVE AGGRESSING in order to index to readers of the report that the child with whom the child interacted was the mother).
Drotar 1990	maternal interactional behavior with nonorganic failure - to - thrive 6 month old infants	**Purpose:** Identify variables related to measurement of maternal interaction behaviors (i.e., use a combination of discrete interactional behaviors during feeding; discrete home environment features; plus qualitative dimensions of maternal sensitivity to infant).
Dumas 1988a	mother - child interactional measures in conduct - disorder children	**Purpose:** Address past studies that suggest that child compliance can be significantly increased by teaching caregivers to issue clear - cut commands (i.e., demonstrate that the relative importance and type and quality of commands by mothers and fathers remains unclear and poorly understood: suggestions or direct instructions may not always lead to more direct compliance).

Eyberg 1988	parent - child interaction therapy	**Purpose:** Illustrate a behavioral therapy approach which integrates child play therapy techniques with behavior management skills (i.e., list of do's and don'ts, including do not ask questions that are clearly implied commands or that direct choices and decisions about the game being played).
Gardner 1987	interaction between mothers and conduct - problem children	**Purpose:** Address the lack in knowledge of variable types of activities families engage in addition to the 5% of conflict time studied so frequently (i.e., illustrate a next step by describing mothers' skill in structuring a joint activity and keeping it going with use of "sensitive and subtle control means").
Haynes - Semen 1987	developmental origins of psychopathology	**Purpose:** Observe toddlers' interactions with mothers, and conduct interviews to address the following questions: What abuse or neglect patterns of parenting may be transmitted from early childhood experiences? What mother - child interactions and experiences during mealtime, diapering, and playtime can be identified in terms of parents' attention and reciprocity? How does the parent interpret/explain the child's behavior during these activities?
Hoffman 1991	optimal mother - infant interaction	**Purpose:** Reexamine the question: Like mother like baby? and test hypotheses related to the finding that infants of mildly to moderately depressed mothers show, like their mothers, less positive affect and a narrower range of emotion than infants of nondepressed mothers.
Howlin 1989	autistic childrens' socialized language patterns and parents' eliciting utterances communication style	**Purpose:** Teach parents of autistic children to make greater use of linguistic structures that are associated with language development.

Johnston 1990	mother - child interactions in families of children with externalizing disorders	**Purpose:** Design research to solve the difficulty of observings links between parenting behavior, children's disorders, and maternal characteristics (e.g., self-esteem, depressive symptoms, marital satisfaction) by demonstrating correlations between researcher's ratings of child behavior and mothers' ratings of how typical the interaction has been.
Kasari 1988	caregivers attention and behavior regulation interactions with children	**Purpose:** Compare mothers' and fathers' interactions with 4 year old autistic and mentally retarded children to caregivers' interactions with 2 year olds with mental age similar to the 4 year old austic and mentally retarted children (Catelle or Stanford - Binet scores).
Konstantarea s 1988	maternal speech to children	**Purpose:** Move beyond counting the total number of mother - child utterances to identify the pattern of linguistic input, and hence, communication patterns sensitive to children's competence levels (i.e., patterns of answering questions, asking questions using language modeling, using directives, using shorter lengths of utterances).
Olson 1990	precurors of children's impulse control	**Purpose:** Observe parent - toddler "responsive, cognitively stimulating interactions" to address the question, "Do 7 composite 'quality' indicators of mother - toddler interaction predict individual differences in children's impulsively over a four year period?"
Pinata 1987	mother - child interactions in teaching situations	**Purpose:** Illustrate how mothers' (a) structuring of teaching situations, (b) management of problem-solving during teaching, and (c) "quality" of instruction assistance, can be used to trace changes in family patterns which account for developmental outcomes.

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Shapiro 1987	family interaction as "communicative, synchronous dialogue, interaction" between mothers and their autistic children	**Purpose:** Demonstrate how observing parents' application of methods to set up a dialogue with their autistic child provides an observation tool that can be useful to studying mother - child interaction with other families in other settings.
Strayhorn 1989	parent - preschooler interaction training	**Purpose:** Illustrate how teaching parents teaching interactions, methods to improve their skill in rating symptoms of attention deficit, and methods to increase their use of a "Parent Practice Scale," can be maximized (i.e., maximizing defined as employment of trainers whose cultural background helps training program establish rapport with low-income, high-risk parents).
Webster - Stratton 1988	mothers' and fathers' command interactions with children	**Purpose:** Reexamine 1970s findings which report that there are significant differences between mothers and fathers use of commands in their interactions with conduct problem children (i.e., findings of "no significance" this study may reflect a generational change in the role of the father).

TABLE 2: COMPILATION OF INTERPRETATIVE REVIEW COMPONENTS

Author	Observed Behavior(s)	Observation Time	Task(s) performed	age	Size of Sample
Alvery 1990	(1) **maternal use of reinforcers** (verbal praise)	2-5 hr. training session	learn verbal praise examples	7, 8 yrs.	2
Barkley 1988	(10) **maternal commands**: command-question question praise negative reaction no response **child behaviors**: compliance competing (off-task) negative interaction independent play no response	20 min.	5 tasks in clinic playroom pick up toys copy design complete counting problems draw a line through a maze play independently	3-4 yrs.	27
Barkley 1989	(3) **interaction = 's** mother commands child complies mother praises	20 min.	<same as above>	6 yrs.	40
Beckwith 1988	(5) **5 categories of responsiveness:** talking talking in face holding mutual visual regard contingency to distress	n/r	develop observation skills	infants	35
Cambell 1987	(8) **maternal structuring**: directives praise suggests alternatives control **child behaviors**: negative non-compliant aggressive	15 min.	play with child as you would at home (lab had 9 toys)	2-3 yrs.	64

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Author	Observed Behavior(s)	Observation Time	Task(s) performed	age	Size of Sample
Chatoor 1988	(6) **maternal:** positioned for reciprocal exchange talk positive remarks **child:** distracted cried turned away	20 min.	recreate as closely as possible the at-home feeding experience	20 months	42
Cramer 1988	(3) positive responses (all maternal actions & interpretations that treat child's action as normal assertiveness, curiosity, exploration) avoidant responses aversive responses	5 therapy sessions	mother and infant attend psychotherapy sessions together	10 months	1
Di Lalla 1990	(5) positive social interaction care taking discipline refusal hostility	1 min.	"free activity" in the family's home	2.3 yrs. (mean)	20
Drotar 1990	(3) discrete interactive behavior during feeding (timing, pacing, termination)	n. s.	feeding at home	6 months	20
Dumas 1989a	(4) **behaviors which form the following clusters of m/c behaviors:** m adversive c adversive m positive c positive	30 min.	laboratory play setting	6 yrs. (mean)	33
Dumas 1989b	(18) **18 different commands** (e.g. direct commands, indirect commands, prescribes)	1 hr	child's home ("go about daily routine," but no TV or phone calls)	6.3 yrs. (mean)	22 mothers and fathers

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Author	Observed Behavior(s)	Observation Time	Task(s) performed	age	Size of Sample
Eyberg 1988	(5) **don't rules:** indirect commands unlabeled praise **do rules:** describe what child is doing imitate what child is doing repeat, or rephrase what child is doing	practice 5 minutes per day	play with child while wearing a bug-in-ear device through which author coached parents	preschool	n.s.
Gardner 1987	(11) **(11 activity codes)** joint activity joint conversation play alone sub play talk maintenance TV angry conflict control sib-fight rough-and-tumble	4 times 4 hours total	get on with whatever they normally do (no rules re: phone, TV)	4 yrs. (mean)	39
Haynes-Seman 1987	(0) no pre-coding categories	n.s.	meal, diapering, play	2.5 yrs.	1
Hoffman 1991	(7) **maternal:** affectionate physical contact contingent responding distress-reducing physical contact facilitate involvement with toy contingent responding with toy **infant:** contingent responding involvement with toy	10 min.	free play in a laboratory playroom	2 months	22

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Author	Observed Behavior(s)	Observation Time	Task(s) performed	age	Size of Sample
Howlin 1989	(17) maternal use of 10 "Language development" directed utterances child use of 7 socialized utterances echoes questions questions/answers spontaneous directions/commands	weekly home visits for 6 months, then bi-weekly for 12 months	**maternal** questions answers limitations echoes reductions expansions mimicry corrections reinforcements	6.5 yrs. (mean)	16
Johnston 1990	(4) **maternal direction of interaction:** praises nominations **child compliance interaction:** negative independent activity	20 min.	5 tasks: (delay snack; pick-up toys; complete maze; arrange block design; complete math problem)	8 yrs. (mean)	40
Kasari 1988	(3) attention regulation behavior regulation responsiveness	12 min.	5 tasks: lab playroom (play with any of 9 toys; play with doll, bed, & bottles; play with puzzles; play without toys; put toys away)	4.5 yrs. 2.5 yrs.	36 18
Konstrantareas 1988	(6) **maternal:** directives control reinforcement for motor behavior questions answers reinforcement for child's spoken utterances (i.e. expansions, corrections of child's verbalization)	15 min.	interact as you would at home	6 yrs. (mean)	20

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Author	Observed Behavior(s)	Observation Time	Task(s) performed	age	Size of Sample
Olson 1990	(7) warm responsiveness avoidance of restriction teaching & responsiveness nonrestrictive attachment security verbal stimulation nonpunitive control	Two 3 hour home observations	Child - 4 tasks: (matching; drawing; walking; delay of present opening)	6 yrs.	80
Pianta 1987	(13) **maternal:** supportive presence quality instructional assistance structuring of the situation hostility toward child confidence in dealing with the task **child:** persistence enthusiasm negative affect compliance reliance dependency affection avoidance	n.s.	teaching in 4 problem-solving situations: copy block pattern; name objects with wheels; place objects according to color and shape; trace a maze place objects according to color and shape; trace a maze	3.5 yrs.	267
Shapiro 1987	(1) set up dialogues with child	three 10-minute segments	play lab	3.3 yrs. (mean)	5
Strayborn 1989	(4) communicates enthusiasm gives approval non-directive conversation plays imaginatively	25 min.	teach child elements of curriculum developed by researchers	3.9 yrs. (mean)	41
Webster-Stratton 1988	(4) **parent:** command criticism **child:** deviance noncompliance	30 minutes for 2 evenings	maintain home routine as much as possible (but no TV or phone)	5.5 yrs. (mean)	85 mothers and fathers

Key
n/r not reported
n.s. not specified

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